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ABSTRACT

In a brief analysis of Hopi consonant gradation, residual exceptions to Heath's generalizations about i-ablaut in Uto-Aztecan languages from Hopi are examined. In Heath's (1977, 1978) reconstruction of Proto-Uto-Aztecan verb morphophonemics, a consonant gradation is reconstructed when a final vowel of a consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel (CVCV) root is ablauted to /i/, a shift that is induced by certain verb derivational suffixes. This note suggests that a -t- or -ts- alternation shifting the final vowel of a CVCV root to "i" leaves some alternating pairs in Hopi. Examples of i-ablauted verb stems in Hopi are shown that conform to Heath's reconstruction, but exceptions are also illustrated. Contains 3 references. (LB)

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A NOTE ON HOPI CONSONANT GRADATION

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Abstract: Residual exceptions to Heath's generalizations about i-ablaut in Uto-Aztecan languages from Hopi are examined. A -t- to -ts- alternation with shifting the final vowel of a CVCV root to i leaves some alternating pairs in Hopi.

In Heath's (1977, 1978) reconstruction of Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) verb morphophonemics, a consonant gradation is reconstructed when a final vowel of a CVCV root is ablauted to /i/. This shift (-tV# to -tsi#) is induced by certain verb derivational suffixes (Heath 1977:32).

The remaining i-ablauted verb stems in Hopi generally follow Heath's reconstruction.

aptu 'adequate'	aptsi-wta 'be equal amount'
hoota 'back' (noun)	hootsi-wta 'go along zigzagging' (cf. hoota-nta 'be flexing')
hötа 'open it'	hötsi '1. open 2. hole'
	hötsi-wa 'doorway'
	hötsi-wta 'ajar'
iita 'hold it in front of self'	iitsi-wta 'be sticking out'
kɔ'olta 'store it away'	koltsi 'shelf' (noun)
kuuta 'overturn container'	kutsi-psö 'underarm'
	kutsi-tsanta 'take it under one's arm'
kweeta 'brush it aside'	kwets-ta 'move dirt'
kwusu 'bring it'	maa-kwusti 'grasp in hand' (maa 'hand')
leeta 'lay it across'	leetsi '1. bolt/bar 2. line/row'
maata-kna 'display it'	maatsi-wa 'be called/named'
paato 'explode'	paatsi 'waterfall'
	paatsi-kna 'cause to burst'
pitu 'arrive'	pitsi-na 'attain/seem'
	pitsi-wta 'reach as far as'
qatu 'sit/stay/remain'	qatsi 'life'
uuta 'close it'	uutsi 'closure device'
	uutsi-wta 'be closed in'
wuuta 'pours it'	wuts-ta 'bail it out'

In these examples, either i-ablaut occurs by itself to produce nouns, or it is the consequence of one of the i-ablauting suffixes: -(i)wa 'stative', -(i)va 'desiderative' (from *-(i)pai), -(i)na 'punctual' (in Hopi, causative), and perhaps the suffix

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-(i)lti 'become'. The -k- and -n- intermediate suffixes are thematic class markers.

There are a handful of exceptions to Heath's reconstruction. In two cases, we find roots with i-ablaut applied, but without a medial -t- in the input.

nawus 'must' (modal)	nawutsi 'take a long time'
	nawuts-na 'pass a long time'
oopo-kna 'fill to capacity'	ootso-kna 'fill up'

In two other cases, it seems that i-ablaut has not been applied, even though the -ts- gradation is evident.

tsövu 'elbow' (from *to 'curve + *pɨ 'participle')

mömtsa 'bite all over'
mötsi-kna 'grip in teeth'

In the first root, which has cognates in Yaqui-Mayo and Cora-Huichol (Miller 1965:#37), /t/ has become /ts/ without i-ablaut. This is also true of the example with oopo 'full' above. Mömtsa points to a root mööta (unattested), which must underlie mötsikna.

In a single stray form, given below, i-ablaut appears in the first member of a compound noun.

puwvits-tawi 'lullaby'

The first member is related to puw-va 'go to sleep' (puuwi 'sleep' with -va 'inceptive'); the i-ablauted gradation -ts- in puwvits- probably comes from -ta 'durative'. The element tawi is the combining form of taawi 'song'.

It remains to be seen whether this residue is due to a psychological extension of the t to ts gradation, or whether, at earlier times, the gradation was independent of i-ablaut though generally co-occurring with it, and/or consonants other than -t- could be changed to -ts-, much as final vowels */ɨ u o a/ could change to */i/.

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